1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliot*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macohor*, a person definitely in the *tiliot*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1930 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an older known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Koipuncie cicoto*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sokutiot* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sokutiot* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kwosiot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.

. . . . . 1st descending generation

. . . . . 2nd descending generation

[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the *shamba*. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [588] even if the disparity in age is but small.

Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to ● 606 be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit silent out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkumuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

607 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *areriet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no loose talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603 754 598 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sere kaaiwtok ako ra opaipaiitun* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Mining's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkorom, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Mining visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *si kaam lokoi* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaola used to live at Cepkunyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipukua; but in July 1939 he moved to Kipkorom, as his son Leii was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaola and his wife in a maize *shamba* belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Leii, a *Maina*, is Arap Mining's wife's brother, and therefore 604 *mama* to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipukua to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkumuren taught her children to like Leii, who would greet them by saying *Sopai, lakocu* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sere, lakocu* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Epa, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Leii never played the part in their lives that Arap Mining's brother Kimutai did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

614 The clan, *ord*, plural *ortinuuk*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap ord*, or simply *tiondo*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reputed to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people mystically related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these [199] names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

may be greeted, though not talked to otherwise. Other relations of the wife are treated as the 1st ascending generation, and their children as one's own. But as men get older, the complete avoidance of their wife's mother tends to relax, though never at any time is there ordinary intercourse between them. 606

C. The Clan and Marriage Regulations. 614

Marriage regulations are based on the clan system, and the general rule is that a man may not marry within his clan. The clan, *oret*, is the basis of social organization, and the social aspect of the clan is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils where matters like land boundaries, marriages, and minor offences between clansmen are discussed, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect of the clan rather than on its animal-aspect (i.e. "totem"). The Nandi, for example, talk of *tiond' ap oreniyō*, 'the animal of my clan' or *tiondanyō* 'my animal'; whereas the Dorobo say *orayon*, 'my clan'. There are no prohibitions concerning the clan-animal (*tiondo*), which in fact has no ritual social value, though as a source of food it has an actual social value. [361] [627]

Two clans, Moi and Kapsegoi, have the same *tiondo* (the crested crane), and marriage between these two is allowed, because the *oret* is different, although the *tiondo* is the same. It may be noted, too, that in the case of the Moi, a Moi may marry a Moi woman, provided she belongs to 'another house,' *kut ake*, that is, lives in another district, and is not a blood relation. Clansmen are regarded as *tilioswik*, 'relations' and are addressed as *orayon*, 'my clan[sman],' or as *a' l' apan*, a term not otherwise found in Dorobo, but equivalent to F. Br. S. in Nandi. [171]

The clan animals are:

Kapsegoi ..... } *koyonyot* (crested crane).
Moi ..... }
Kipiegen ..... *kimukichat* (baboon).
Kipamwi ..... *pemuriyo* (duiker).
Kapil ..... *tuwait* (bush-pig).
Toiyoi ..... *rukita* (the rain).
Kororpor ..... *kimuketyot* (hyaena).